DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 286 983 UD 025 822

AUTHOR Hodgson, Frank M.
TITLE Culture-Specific Institutions that Delayed the Growth of Common Schools in the Antebellum South, 1700-1860.
PUB DATE 21 Apr 87
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the Austin Peay State University chapter of Phi Delta Kappa (Clarksville, TN, April 21, 1987).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Behavior Standards; Blacks; Codes of Ethics; Elementary Secondary Education; *Elitism; Group Unity; *Individualism; Majority Attitudes; Moral Values; *Public Education; Public Opinion; Racial Bias; *Slavery; Social Desirability; *Social Values
IDENTIFIERS Attitude Toward School; *United States (South)

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the southern approach to education during the period of 1700 to 1860. During this period there developed in the South three culture-specific institutions that helped delay the growth of Common Schools, and later Public Schools. Those institutions were the following: (1) a code of honor; (2) the development of a structured hunting society; and (3) the condition of slavery. These institutions isolated many southerners from other parts of the country, greatly hindering educational growth and reform in the South for decades. The paper describes the social conditions and attitudes that created those institutions. It discusses differences in northern and southern concepts of education. On the whole, the South exaggerated the value of appropriate birth, race, class, and level of personal independence. This mitigated against any emphasis on or respect for learning. Included are an extensive list of references and several tables indicating percentages of young people receiving educations in the North and the South. (PS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

10-15-87 UD

ED286983

CULTURE-SPECIFIC INSTITUTIONS THAT DELAYED THE GROWTH OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, 1700-1860

A paper read before the
Austin Peay State University
Chapter of
Phi Delta Kappa
April 21, 1987

Frank M. Hodgson, Ed.D.
Executive Director
Clarksville-Montgomery County
Education Foundation
Clarksville, Tennessee 37040

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Frank M. Hodgson
Clarksville-Montgomery County School System
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

UD025022

CULTURE-SPECIFIC INSTITUTIONS THAT DELAYED THE GROWTH OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, 1700-1860

The South has always held a unique position in the developing character of the United States. Early in its history the region began to develop a unique approach to education than did the northern part of the nation. This paper will address the southern approach to education during the period of the 1700 to 1860 know as the antebellum period. During this period in the South there developed three culture-specific institutions that helped delay the growth of Common Schools, and later Public School, growth in the South. The institutions in southern culture that helped delay educational programs in the South was a code of honor, the development of a structured hunting society, and the condition of slavery. These institutions isolated many southerns from other parts of the country, greatly hindered educational growth and reform in the south for decades.

In order to adequately understand the position facing many southerns it is necessary to understand the social conditions and times in which they lived. The education system, or the lack of such a formal system, was dictated by the philosophy of the people and their times. T. S. Eliot, believed that "every definition of the purpose of education, implies some concealed, or rather implicit philosophy or theology."[1] Eliot also believed if one was to understand any system of education well, that such a system should be analysised in relation to the social concepts of the period in which it fuctioned. "No system of education can

be truly appreciated or criticized except against the back ground of the social order in which it operates."[2]

In order to understand the slow development of primary and secondary education in the South we must understand the social conditions which retarded and delayed the growth of the universal school concept in the region.

First, the idea of what education should be was from the beginning a conflict of social concepts between the North and South. Lawrence Cremin, writing in the American Common School, suggest that beginning with the founding of the Boston Latin School on February 13, 1635, and Harvard College one year later (now Harvard University), the Northern position of general education was one of a cooperative community approach to the problem. In the North this position continued to grow, well into the early 1800 to mid 1850s. Northern education leaders, as well as other politicians, expressed the position that the community was responsible, from generation to generation for the preserving the ideals of the republic. They felt this could better be accomplished through a sound system of common schools. For the South the concept of schooling was entirely different. As a region the Southern concept of general education existed only in the sense of its regional definition of the community or individual concept of philanthropy. Southerns basically took the position that education was a private, parental matter, and not a matter of the state or community dictates, and certainly not one on which state or local taxes should be employed, as Northern advocates of education were willing to do.[3]

This early philosophical contradiction between the two regions placed the South continually behind other parts of the nation in the development of general education, even areas that were settled much later in the nations expansion of the nation, such as the mid western states.

From the outset the South was not interested in an "American Paideia", especially one created and promoted by northern educators in the early 1800s. As an example throughout the South, both in major cities and rual areas alike, the Lyceum Movement founded by Josiah Holbrook in Millbury, Mass. in 1826 was not able to succeed in the southern public forum. By 1828, just two years after its initial founding, the movement had grown into an excess of one hundred branches in the northern states, but had not gain a single foothold in the South. The Southern audiences in the early 1820s did not relate to the controversial subject matter contained in the lectures of the Boston Lyceum, the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, or the Cooper Union of New York. Later in the 1840s, when the region was well into the phase of private/state funded academies, and beginning experimental general common schools, it did not even then adhere to the principles of Horace Mann, when he wrote his Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education In 1848 that public schools could be ..."the greatest equalizer of the condition of man, the balance wheel of the social machinery, an institution that does better than disarm the poor of their hostility toward the rich, ... but an institution that prevents people from being poor." [5]

We know that private and common school education was long delayed in the South, much longer in a general sense than in the North during the same period of time. The basic question is why such a delay? What caused it? What effect did it have on how the South perceived itself in relation to the rest of the country?

The early South, defined here as 1700 to 1860, known as the antebellum period, formulated and continually maintained for its citizens and region a unique set of culture-specific institutions found nowhere else in the establishment of the nation. These institutions acting in concert, helped delay the economic and educational progress of the region. By the mid 1820s and 1830s these institutions helped fostered a condition in the South described by Richard King, as "a siege mentality to justify itself and its essential institutions.[6] Last, the South from the late 1700 to the early 1850s had not developed a consensus when it came to a need or an interest toward supporting public education in the context of "Pro Bono Publico" or in the public good.

Three culture-specific institutions that help retard progress in the South was, a southern code of honor, both regional, personal and familial; a deep attachment to the wilderness which was later to develop into an extensive hunting culture; and, most of all, a dehumanizing system of slavery; which morally isolated the region from the realities of a developing nation.

Within this self-imposed isolation the South developed a cultural mystique that as a region it was not only different, but

in some respects so different for the rest of the nation, that it was a separate country unto itself. Southerns of the period did little to dispel this perception, in fact many came to believe in it so much themselves, that they took every opportunity to enlarge upon it, thereby assuring that the myth would become reality. This southern self-perception promted historian Daniel Boorstin to describe the South as "a triumph of history over geography and imagination over reality".....a condition which later enabled the region to "become the most unreal, most powerful, and most disastrous oversimplification in American history."[7]

One of the most powerful social forces at work in the South during this period was "The Code Of Honor." This code was at once primal, familial, and communal, and was certainly unique to the South as interpreted by its peoples. Bertram Wyatt-Brown defined this code of honor as "essentially the cluster of ethical rules, most readily found in societies and small communities, by which judgments of behavior are ratified by community consensus." Honor, Wyatt-Brown writes was "extended to any rank of society.....Southern Yeoman (farmers), no less than the rich planters, all found meaning in honor's demands."[8] This code was so strong, pervasive, and ingrained in the Southern way of life that "next to ones on intimate family, honor was more important than ones religion, more highly prized than a good education, especially by the planter and grentry classes," states Wyatt-Brown. Wyatt-Brown's research clearly demonstrates that the South's "code of honor" was more attuned to the ethics and values

of the old world than the new. Much of the South's perceptions and behavior of honor is traceable through history and literature. It was not just a code of behavior, but one that determined who belonged, and the behavior and action that allowed one to continue to belong.[9]

This code clearly helped shape the Southerner's view of education and helped formulate the value, or lack of value they found in its pursuit for the total community. To many planters and gentry, as well as the yeomen class farmers, education to some respect was feared. Many of these classes felt they would lose their children to the meaningless professional classes. This code was so strong and so entrenched that there were few acceptable professional classes a southern family would consent their male children to enter. The professions of law, medicine, and perhaps even banking, were acceptable to a point. But the most prized upper class education for a male child was that of leadership, both personal, communal, and regional. This was usually achieved through some form of military training. Military training was prized among the upper class levels of southern society. Many a well-to-do student was sent to West Point, Virgina Military Institute, and the Citadel, from all over the South. But, a military career did not hold major advancement for most Southerns. Many would graduate at 20 years of age with a rank of 2nd Lt. in the United States Army, and languishing for years until their early 50s before they made Captain, and to make Major was practically non-existent for many Southerns pursuing a military career.[10]

Outside the military education little choice was left to these children. The planter and gentry classes looked down upon individuals who entered profession dealing with trade. To be a merchant prior to the Civil War in the early South was not considered to be an enlighten career choice. In the upper class such a choice was not an option for most sons of the planters. The war brought changes in this outlook only because many of this class lost most or all their capital and property, forcing them into the merchant class as a means of survival. By the 1870s these same Southern leaders, who had historically opposed the creation and taxation for common schools; who had maintained a status quo for an uneducated black and white labor supply; who could perhaps accept manumission of slaves but never the abolition of slavery; were now committed leaders to revitalize the region under the "New South Movement", and were beating a hasty path all over the North to encourage capital investment in the South. In order to revitalize the South with Northern capital, Southern leaders offered such enticements as free land for factories, 25 to 99 years without property taxes for commercial properties, and a willingness to increase state and regional interest and efforts in general education as well as manual training, a concept introduced in the North as early as the mid 1820s to help incarcerated and homeless juveniles.

Again it was honor, a sense of pride, that precluded a well reared Southern from being a merchant. Edmund Ruffin, a Virgina agrarian reformer perhaps best explained the view o fmost Southerns in the 1830s and 1840s when he described the southern

attitudes about their northern mercantile cousins. "The cultivation of mental and social qualities are far superior to the Yankee compulsion to organize and make the silver clink," wrote Ruffin.[11] Ruffin practiced what he preached. At one time he was so displeased with his own son attending school in Connecticut, that he forced him to return to his Virgina Plantation where he could watch him more closely. Ruffin's reason for recalling his son home was expressed by him as a fear that the young man was beginning to show what he called to much "admiration for Yankee habits."[12]

The depth to which this feeling ran in the South is again illustrated by comments made by James Johnson Pettigrew, a resident of South Carolina in 1849. A male cousin of Pettigrew married a young lady whose father was a tradesman. Pettigrew wrote "the fact that he (the young girls father) exercises a menial occupation is enough for me. Although the Pettigrew's have been starvingly poor, and great drunkards, none ever condescended to buy and sell or engage in any business of life, which was not compatible with current though and perfect independence. Though poor, they have always farmed their own soil....."[13]

The fears of education ran strong and deep in many planter class homes. One Southern, a graduate of William and Mary, criticized his own planter class for lack of foresight and their narrow mindlessness concerning education. On July 20, 1799, I. A. Coles in a letter to Henry St. George Tucker, Coles remarked about the planters fears of educating their children that they were "a Parcell of Dam'd fools who are afraid their children will

learn to dance or drink.....and are opposed to giving their sons, whom they destine to succeed them as farmers, a classical education [sic.]"[14]

At the very heart of this problem was the neglected state of Southern education where Wyatt-Brown suggest that "custom played so marked a role in most men's careers that it was hard to inject the most rudimentary notions of a professional nature ..... and hindered by educational disadvantages, the consequent psychic obstacles, and maldistributions of wealth, not many whites below the high gentility were in position to gain status or livelihood by entering some occupations outside agriculture."[15]

This narrow outlook and social custom so dictated a child's way of life that even if he achieved some rudimentary form of education, especially for those of the yeoman and lower class white society, it did not necessarly mean that he could generate respect for having that education. One case in point is that of a Tennessee mountianeer concerned with his son attending school in the late 1850s in Tennessee. The mountianeer remarked "jus'°cause a boy's attended school don't mean he's legible. (ie. eligible for respect) [sic.]."[16] Thomas Abernathy, a historian writing of the early settlement of Tennessee, expressed a similar attitude that was common on the early Tennessee frontier in the late 1700s to the early 1830s. "Brawn came to be the most respected of all endowments, and education in time came to be looked upon not as unnecessary, but as something effete, not becoming to men of virility. Wilderness bred men naturally esteemed most highly those of their fellows who possessed the

qualifications of greatness and of immediate use in the wilderness."[17]

The early frontier spirit that had developed over the Southern region was another trait, after initial settlement, that help delay educational growth in the region. The vast wilderness was pushed back to make room for the small settlements and plantations. But theses early settlers at the outset treasured the wilderness and the abundance of game it provided them for food and later leisure activity.

The hunting culture of the South was structure along class lines. For the planter and gentry class hunting was a form of leisure activity, the testing of manhood, a form of preservation and testing of honor and courage by action. For the yeoman farmer and other classes of whites, the view was vastly different. The yeoman and others hunted to put meat on the table as a daily experience. Prior to the Civil War this was not a major problem since lands were open and used by all regardless of ownership. However, in the mid to late 1870s, bills began to appear in Southern state legislatures to enclose land, post it, restrict its use by owners against one class to another ---- this brought sever problems to those in Southern society who were dependent on hunting to supplement their food resources.

Southern boys were schooled early that hunting was a testing of their inner strengths as individuals against nature and the elements. The successful completion of the task provided two major things; First, it a sense of fair play, which in itself was a part of the code of honor toward an adversity; Second, it ended for the individual in a lose of innocence which one must

lose in order to advance into adulthood. Clarence Gohdes writes that "hunting introduced the youth to his fathers friends, a fellowship of men with its special vocabulary, nourished with the bottle passed hand to hand." To many children the early experience of the "Maroon" (a hunting, fishing or camping party) to the big southern woods was a necessary and vital cultural experience early in their lives. To many the education it provided outside the classroom were those of practical skills needed to survive and achieve respect among their childhood friends as well friends of the fathers. Thomas Chaplin, one of the largest cotton plantation owners in the South and owner of the "Tombee Plantation" on St. Helena Island of the Cost of South Carolina at the mouth of the Broad River, refers often in his journal of 1822-1890, of the valuable experience his children were gaining from the "Maroon" He felt it added to their education far beyond what they gained in school.[18]

William Faulkner's novella The Bear perhaps best illustrates the extent the Southern hunting culture played in the life of many children. Faulkner's story takes place about the turn of the century in 1900. Though the historical period is different the setting for the story could just as well have taken place in any period from the 1830s to the 1900s. The central character of the story is Ike McCaslin at age sixteen. In the story Ike hunts in the company of older men in the "Big Woods" of northern Mississippi. Ike had first been introduced to the woods at the age of ten by Sam Fathers, a black man who is was part Chickasaw indian, part black slave, and white. Fathers was a man who was

proud, yet tormented by his mixed background composed of "the blood of warriors and chiefs." Faulkner writes:

> It seen to him at the age of ten he was witnessing his own birth ..... he had killed his first buck, Sam Fathers had marked his face with hot blood .... He was sixteen now. For six years he had been a man's hunter. If Sam Fathers had been his mentor and the backyard rabbits and squirrels his kindergarten, then the wilderness, the old bear 'Three Toes' ran in was his college .... the bear, the big woods, the wilderness had become his alma mater. By now he was a better woodsman than most grown men.[19]

In Faulkner's view of Southern culture and values Ike McCaslin had become a man, bonded to the world of other men, not as a child for dependence, but as a young adult.

Stewart Marks provides support for this view. Writing about the 1800s Marks suggest that in the planter class hunting for most Southerns in the early South created a form of bonding. It was and educational process to solidify the values of fair play and independence between Southern males. For many Southerns during this period this was all the education many would have, and all the education many Southern males felt was needed to face life.[20]

Governor James Hammond of South Carolina, points out the harm this form of activity was having on his family as well as the South. Writing to his brother Harry in 1843 Hammond remarked about the behavior of his sons. "They don't pull off their coats or even go at it. They spend their time shooting birds, buying fish, and gerrymandering the county." The overseer and the slaves were left to run the plantation.[21]

Throughout the South this type of activity was occurring, not only for adults but for their children as well. Many

families accepted this as natural behavior in their children and considered it more important than school and what went on in the classroom. Many times students were not in school even when school was possible because they would be deep in the great Southern woods experiencing the hunt with their fathers, their friends, or by themselves. In 1850, a yankee teacher working in rual Georgia wrote her northern friends concerning the difficulty of keeping her students in the classroom. "At the age when the youth of the North are confined at hard lessons for six hours a day one season to another, these (Southern) children ..... are wasting the Springtime of their lives, in the fields and woods, climbing trees, breaking up the haunts of squirrels ..... and shooting animals in the woods."[22] It could be assumed that this was basically the case throughout the South as well.

Another reasons for the delay in Southern educational growth during this period can be attributed to the institution of slavery. Perhaps one the best descriptions one could use to sum up the condition this institution in the South is that provided by historian James Oakes. Oakes describes slavery as "factories in the fields." A system operated to manage and contain, to produce and cultivate, to function and serve a social system, by producing products much like a regular factory.[23]

In most case the system of slavery was supremely inefficient. This system helped produce a highly artificial culture in the South. A culture characterized by extravagence, waste, self-indulgence .... a system that exhibited a pronounced wealth and privilege at the top, contrasted by igornance, poverty, and degradation at the bottom.

Slavery provided the South with a constant supply of cheap labor. It also helped delay education for white classes because it stifled community and regional interest in education for anyone other than the privileged class. Most Southern leaders prior to the 1870s viewed any form of education for lower class whites as a waste of good money. Major landowners in Tennessee for example, did not see the need for common schools, because they were not in their best interest when it came to the cost of labor. Arthur Whitaker writing 1919 on the Public School System in Tennessee, 1834-1860, suggested that landowners in the state saw the poorer class whites only a little higher than slaves. Whitaker wrote, "they considered them undesirable as persons and and viewed their children as no better."[24]

This view in Tennessee held by major landowners was not at all unusual in the South. This elite group resented the idea of taxation for such general population schools and did not support them. They preferred instead to direct their money and influence toward the private academy, where the population was more controllable, and where they had a greater influence in the educational process. The academy system provided for the planter class a school environment for their children where social values could be guarded and protected, where ideas that exerted a destructive influence on their way of life could be strictly censored.[25]

To understand how extensively the planter class controlled the academies they supported, one need only read Carol Teplitz West's work "The Informal Education of Southern Children As

Reviewed By The Literature of The Period, 1830-1860." Ms West work reveals that teachers of academies financed by the planter class were strictly controlled pertaining to who taught, what was taught, and what printed subject matter was allowed into the classroom. All this was done to (1.) keep out northern influences concerning manumission (freeing of slaves) as well as abolition of the slave system; (2.) decreasing any notion in the students attending the academies of the idea of an egalitarian society, and (3). to promote the planter class parenternalistic attitudes (within reason) toward less fortunate whites and especially slaves and freedmen blacks.[26]

As with any generalization about a population or class, not every planter agreed with the majority of their class. In the South during this period their did exist some enlighten planters and others who believed that a more general level of education should be provided to other classes including slaves. When it came to prohibiting the education of slaves, Tennessee was the only state prior to 1861 that did not specifically forbid such activity. However, there was an 1836 state statue prohibiting the circulation of "seditious books and pamplets" to slaves, passed as fear legislation to hopefully prevent insurrection and rebellion. Some slaveholders in many southern states felt that better educated slaves would provide a higher quality worker and create a more efficient labor force. To aid in this development some planters encouraged Northern Missionary aid societies to come South and work on their plantations as teachers and help educated their slaves as well as other interested children from the yeoman class.[27]

In many respects the South was not without schools, but they were not the schools that truly promoted educational growth for the community and region. As early as 1816 in Tennessee, as well as other Southern states legislatures had provided money yearly for some students to attend "orphaned or poor schools", however many students could not or would not attend. The "Poor Schools" had been established to provide education for children whose parents had been killed in the war of 1812. In 1823 and 1827 additional funds were were possible, as in Tennessee, because of interest earn on state income deposited in regional state chartered banks, as well as from persons who had died in INTESTATE (without legal wills or heirs). Funds for the education of these children were grossly inadequate and squandered by many county governments, which until the 1870s, were not checked to closely by state fund audits. For many in county governments they felt the whole process was a waste of time. For instance in Montgomery county in 1831 one magistrate, living the Fredonia community, reported to the state there were 15 to 16 children in school at "Willie Hogans place" but they came so infrequent, the teacher could not keep them in the school most of the day, that he really saw no "benefit the district will derive from this institution."[28]

Since many of these schools did not have enough funds to operate properly, and few children from the yeoman and other lower class whites attended, state governors' such as Hammond of South Carolina had them abolished. Writing in an open letter to the citizens of his state, published in 1843 in the Charleston

COURIER, Hammond outlined why the "poor Schools" were so ineffective. Hammond wrote, "for the yeoman laboring in the fields.... from dawn to dusk, the necessity of solid study for his sons seemed remote. Their pride revolts ...at the idea of sending their children to school as "poor Scholars", ... besides they need them at home to work." Governor Hammond's solution to the problem was simply to redirect the "poor scholar" funds to the state academy program.[29] This placed the schools further beyond the pale of most southern children since that academy schools were even more expensive. Governor Hammond's intentions to have the states money go further really only helped the rich planter and gentry class. Such a redirection of funds virtually left all other citizens outside the educational process until the late 1850s. The 1850s many have been better for most southern attempts at education, but in Tennessee the 1850s was still a period of debate, gearing up the right organization, and defining philosophy. The period brought only a meager attempt at funding schools already in existence.

In concluding how bad off was the South during this period of time compared, for instance, to other parts of the county? First of all literacy rate in the South prior to the Civil War was very high compared to the northern states. In Breckinridge County, Kentucky between 1802 and 1862 a total of 279 wills were registered. Out of the 279 registered wills over 100 were signed with only a cross as a signature mark and another 20 to 25% were signed by marginally literate adults. Many of the wills contained gross spellings errors, improper sentence structure, colloquial phrases, as well as incorrect legal terms, even by

those filed by attorneys.[30]

In 1850 the percent of Southerns that could not even sign their name was 20 to 25% of the population, the same 1850 U.S. Census shows the rate of illiteracy rate in the entire South as being as high as 47.3% of the population. When the South is compared with northern states such as the region of New England, where illiterate adults comprised on 1% of the population, you can began to understand how far the South was behind in education.[31]

If we look at data available on students eligible for school in the North and South, vs. those actually attending school, the differences are again striking. In 1830 Tennessee students actually enrolled in "papuer or poor schools," was only 6% of the eligible population; In Virginia it was only 9%: In South Carolina again only 9%; and in Georgia it was 25%. New York state for the same year 74% eligible school age children in school, and for Masschusetts the figure it was 73%. By 1852, figures available for the entire United States show that only 12% or 20,402 students out of and eligible population of 172,988 were attending school.[32]

The length of the school year provides additional data to compare the two regions. In 1850, the length of the school year also varied from North to South. The average school term in the mid-Atlantic states was 157 days, for the North-Central states it was 116 days, while in the Southern states it was only and average of 80 days.[33]

There were other conditions operating in the South during this period that help detail the extent of the lack of educational progress. Again the 1850 census data reveals the extent of the problem was not only affecting the lack of progress in the primary or secondary education but the general population as well. In 1850 the entire state of Mississippi had only 15 actual degreeded professors teaching at the college level. And when it came to the amount of newspapers published in southern states again the South lagged far behind with only 30 in Alabama, 34 in Mississippi and 50 in Tennessee. When Georgia is compared to a state such as Main, with a similar rual and underpopulated land area for the period, you find it had only 190 newspaper men working in the state compared to 258 working journalist in the state of Main. The issue of education was so bad in Tennessee that Andrew Johnson addressed as special legislative message to the legislature on December 19, 1853. Johnson remarked, "All who entertain any personal and State pride must feel deeply wounded when they are told by the recent census (1850) that Tennessee, though the fifth state in the Union, in many of the great elements necessary to make her one of the proudest and most respected, stands last and lowest on the list of education, save one, of all the States composing this Union."[34]

As we address the issues of education today in Tennessee we need to keep in mind that much of what is occurring is really not all that new or revolutionary. As an example the idea of teacher merit vs. all teachers. For an example: In 1826 when Tennessee was embroiled in heated debate concerning the creation of Common Schools Dr. Phillip Lindsley, President of Cumberland College,

then located in Nashville, addressed the graduating class of Cumberland College in October. Lindsley's address centered on the concern that the problems of education was not the creation of schools, because he felt progress would eventually require them, but who would be doing the teaching and who would train them. Lindsley stated:

> Teachers are the key to helping the students and therefore, should receive good salaries. ....Pay them according to merit. Pay any sum necessary to command the services of the best and most accomplished teachers there are. It is better to have no teachers, than to have incompetent, immoral, lazy, passionate or indiscreet ones, however, cheaply they will be procured. Until school keeping is made an honorable and lucrative profession, suitable teachers will never be forthcoming in this free country.[35]

REFERENCES

[1]T. S. Eliot, To Criticize The Critic: Eight Essays On Literature And Education (New York: Farrar, Straus and Gixous, 1965), 75.

[2]Adolf Lowe, quoted in Eliot, Eight Essays On Literature And Education, 95.

[3]Lawrence Cremin, The American Common School: A Historic Concept (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 86-88.

[4]Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans, vol. 4, The National Experience (New York: Vantage Press, 1965), 214-215.

[5]Horace Mann, Annual Report To The Massachusetts Board Of Education, 1848, (Boston: Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1848), np.

[6]Richard H. King, A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening Of The South, 1930-1955 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 20-21.

[7]Boorstin, The Americans, 170.

[8]Bertrum Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics And Behavior In The Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), xv.

[9]Ibid., 23-26, 30-37.

[10]Ibid., 192.

[11]Edmund Ruffin, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 179.

[12]Ibid.

[13]James Johnson Pettigrew, 1842., quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 180.

[14]I. A. Coles to Henry St. George Tucker, July 20, 1799, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 195.

[15]Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 176-177.

[16]Elmora M. Matthews, Neighbors And Kin: Life In A Tennessee Ridge Community (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965), 76; quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 194.

[17]Thomas P. Abernathy, Frontier To Plantation In Tennessee: A Study In Frontier Democracy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 161.

[18]Clarence Gohdes, (ed.) Hunting In The Old South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967) np; quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 196; Theodore Rosengarten, Tombee, Portrait Of A Cotton Planter: The Plantation Journal Of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1822-1890 (New York: William and Morrow Company, 1986), 604.

[19]Walter J. Slatoff, Quest for Failure: A Study of William Faulkner (New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), 130.; William Faulkner, The Bear, in Three Famous Short Novels (New York: Random House, 1960), 185, 189, 203.

[20]Stewart Marks, "The Southern Hunting Culture of Whites and Blacks, 1600-1970", interview by host, March 22, 1986, Washington D. C., delayed tape broadcast of "Soundings", Public Broadcasting System, National Center for the Humanities, Washington, D. C.

[21]Governor James Hammond to Harry Hammond, July 16, 1843, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 176.

[22]Yankee School Teacher In Georgia, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, p. 193.

[23]James Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History Of American Slaveholders (New York: Vantage Press, 1983), 153-191.

[24]Arthur P. Whitaker, "The Public School System Of Tennessee: 1834-1860," Tennessee Historical Magazine 1 (November, 1919): 28-29.

[25]Frank M. Hodgson, "The Public School Movement In Montgomery County, 1803-1913" (Ed.D.diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984), 11-12.

[26]Carol Teplitz West, "The Informal Education Of Southern Children As Reviewed In The Literature Of The Period, 1830-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1970), 46-53.

[27]Frank M. Hodgson, "Saints, Sinners, And Scoundrels: The Work Of The Northern Missionary Aid Societies And The Freedmen's Bureau In Montgomery County, Tennessee: 1864-1870, (An unpublished paper), 5-6.

[28]Tennessee Acts. 1812, 1827, 1843; "A Report Of The Montgomery County Schools." Presented To The Tennessee Legislative Committee On Common Schools, June 14, 1831. Misc. Legislative Papers, 1831. (Tennessee State Library And Archives Nashville, Tennessee Handwritten Accounts Ledger); Hodgson, "Public School Movement In Montgomery County", 14.

[29]Governor Hammond, The Courier November 30, 1843, Charleston South Carolina, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 194.

[30]"Will Books," 1802-1862 Breckinridge County, Kentucky, Vol. M-617, #25-26-27, quoted in Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 194.

[31]Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor. p. 193.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]J. D. B. Debow, (ed.) Statistical View Of The United States: Being A Compendium Of The Seventh Census Of The United States, 1850 (Washington, D. C.: A.O.P. Nicholson Public Printers, 1854), np; Francis A. Walker (ed.) A Compendium Of The Ninth United States Census, 1870 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872, 487-490; Governor Andrew Johnson, "Legislative Message To The Joint Session Of The Tennessee Legislature, December 19, 1853" Senate Journal, 1853, (Nashville, 1854) Tennessee State Library And Archives, 293-307.

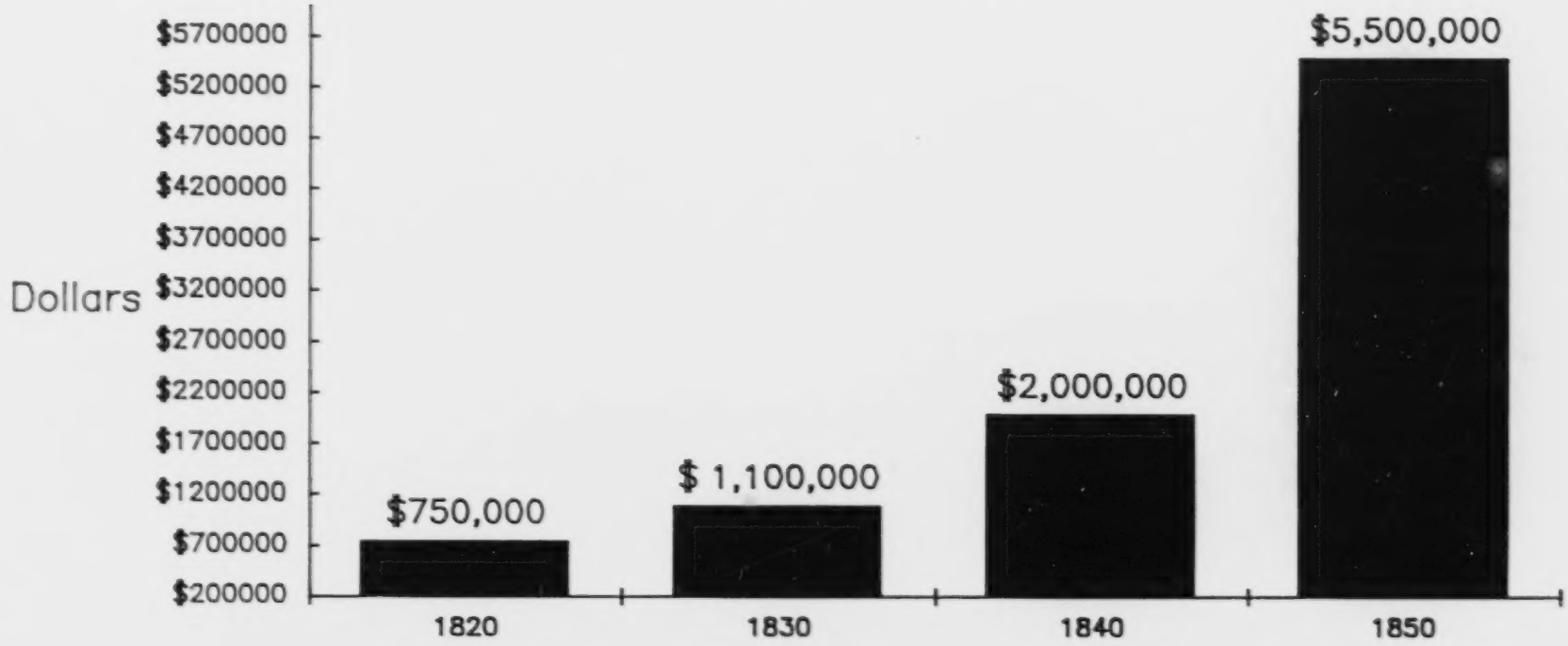
[35]President Phillip Lindsley, "Graduation address at Cumberland College, October 1826" quoted in Edgar W. Knight, Public Education in the South (New York: Ginn and Company, 1922), 142-144.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC INSTITUTIONS THAT DELAYED THE GROWTH OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, 1700-1860

APPENDIX A

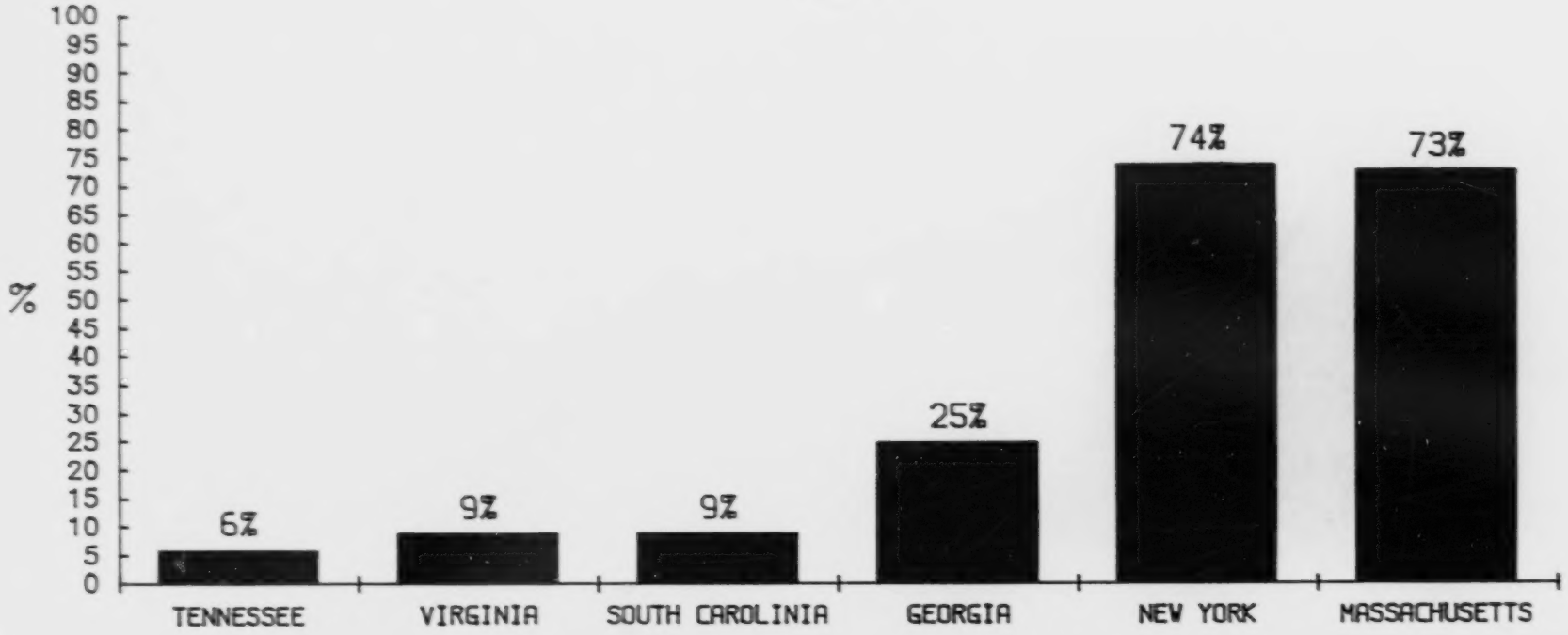
GRAPH TABLES

Estimated Number Of Books Published For Student Classroom Use In The United States, 1820 To 1850



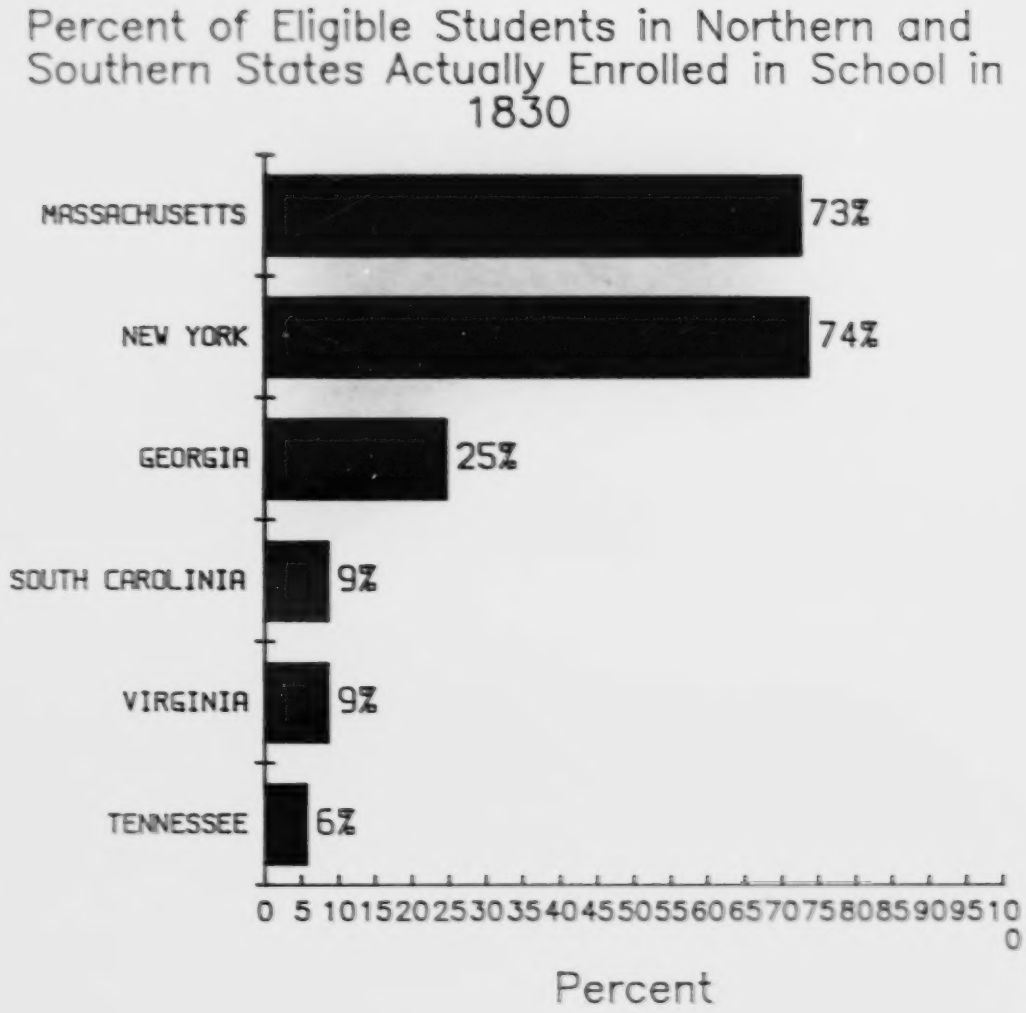
Source: Lawrence Cremin, The American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 301.

Percent of Eligible Students in Northern and Southern States Actually Enrolled in School in 1830



Source: Bertrum Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 193.

Source: Bertrum Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 193.



Source: Frank M. Hodgson, "The Public School Movement In Montgomery County, 1803–1913." (Ed.D., diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984).